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FAR EASTERN CULTURE AND SOCIETY


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NASSAU HALL

The Princeton University Bicentennial Conference on Far Eastern Culture and Society

FOREWORD

A CONFERENCE on a geographical area forced the committee to limit the scope of the discussions. It was decided to concentrate on China since that country has been the cultural center of the Far East and secondly to restrict the conference to the two fields which promised to be the most fruitful, namely the history of art and the social sciences. One involved the problems of a pioneer study and the other faced the crucial issues of the present; historically both dealt with the two outstanding contributions of the Chinese to universal experience, the harmony of artistic creation and the harmony of living.

Although an effort was made to coordinate both fields by holding joint sessions of the two groups of scholars in the evenings and by organizing each program on the same pattern, of historical perspective on the first day, special problems on the second, and modern issues on the last day, nevertheless the two disciplines differed so greatly in methodologies and purposes that the conference divided into parallel meetings. Hence it will not be disturbing to the reader to be presented with separate reports of the two fields.

Since any analysis of art becomes futile without illustrations, the sessions on the history of art were conducted with lantern slides. To supplement these and to make the informal exchange of views as concrete as possible, five exhibitions were arranged, each chosen to point up the problems to be considered. In many ways these exhibitions became the feature of the conference.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE exhibition of ritual bronze vessels,¹ which covered a thousand years of development, was outstanding for its quality and archaeological interest. About half of the vessels had never been shown before and most of the others were selected because they raised questions of date, inscription, provenance, iconography, style or patinization.

The excellent collection of Chinese paintings of Dr. Du Bois S. Morris of the class of '93 was presented to Princeton University in honor of the Bicentennial celebration. Fifty of the finest paintings of this collection, which includes almost five hundred in number, filled the upper galleries of the Museum of Historic Art. These scrolls and albums, ranging in style from the Sung through the Ch'ing period, offered first hand illustrations of the figure and landscape traditions to be discussed in the conference, together with superb examples of dragon, animal, bamboo, insect, and bird and flower painting. A catalogue of this collection was prepared by the director under the title "The Principles of Chinese Painting."²

To demonstrate the historical process of change in Chinese history, an exhibition of dated figure rubbings from engraved stones was arranged chronologically, dating from the second to the twentieth century. An unusual set of the Chu Wei rubbings were added to the dated examples because the rubbings published by Fischer showed only the upper two-thirds of the figures and because the Rowley set of rubbings proved

¹ The University is indebted to all those who so generously loaned their treasures and to Otto v. Kienbusch of the class of '06 for the gift of a *t'ing* to celebrate the occasion. The list of lenders included: The Buffalo Museum of Science, Mr. Ralph M. Chait, Mrs. C. Suydam Cutting, Mr. T. Lionberger Davis, Mr. Myron S. Falk, Jr., Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck, Baron Edward von der Heydt, Mrs. Otto H. Kahn, Mr. Mathias Komor, Mr. C. T. Loo, Mr. Fritz Low-Beer, Mr. David H. McAlpin, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Mrs. William H. Moore, The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Mr. Alfred Pillsbury, The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.

² Special thanks are extended to the Princeton University Press for making this book available on the day before the opening of the conference.

the wholesale recutting of the stone slabs. Some undated rubbings of the Six Dynasties were made available for study by Mr. Sickman, in addition to his unique rubbing of Manjusri and Vimalakirti, which contained several Sung inscriptions.³

An unusual exhibition of rare illustrated books and manuscripts was made possible by the happy circumstance of the storage of the National Peiping Library Collection in the Congressional Library for safe-keeping during the war years.⁴ To secure the finest editions and to round out the types of illustration with special attention to landscape techniques and treatment of gardens, items were added from the collections of the Congressional Library and of the New York Public Library.⁵

In archaeological interest the most noteworthy exhibition was provided by Dr. Liang Ssŭ-ch'êng. One hundred and twenty-five of his photographs of sculptural and architectural monuments were enlarged. They were divided into two groups, a series of cave sculptures in Szechuan and a survey of the historical developments of figure and landscape styles. The most exciting discoveries were some elegant Sung sculptures and the first T'ang building to contain not only a date but also frescoes of Buddhist figures painted on the roof-beams and portrait sculptures of the architect and his donor. Even a summary report of such wealth of material would require several more years of study.⁶

Although these five exhibitions could not compete in interest or quality with the unique International Exhibition in London in 1935, nevertheless they represented a very

³ No catalogue of this exhibition was prepared but my book on the development of figure style, based on the evidence of dated rubbings, is in preparation.

⁴ Special gratitude is due to Dr. T. L. Yuan for making this loan possible and to Dr. Wang Chung-min for his selection of items and preliminary preparation of exhibition information. Dr. Wu Kwang-tsing and Dr. Arthur W. Hummel were kind enough to complete the information cards and to install the exhibition.

⁵ Dr. Arthur W. Hummel and Dr. Karl Kup kindly arranged permission for these loans.

⁶ Dr. Liang Ssŭ-ch'êng prepared cards in lieu of the catalogue which was not feasible.

creditable attempt to cover the major problems in the field of Chinese Art history.⁷

The exhibition also served to renew our awareness of the perfection and profundity of Chinese art as a contribution to man's quest for the real and the permanent.

GEORGE ROWLEY

Director of the Conference

⁷ It is to be regretted that a suggested exhibition of calligraphy to be brought from China could not be carried out because of unsettled conditions and limited time. Also, we missed the presence of Dr. Li Chi who would have made the latest discoveries of early archaeology available.

S U M M A R Y

THE most crucial and the least understood problem in the field of Chinese art is the conception of a process of change in Chinese history. What are the changes which distinguish one Chinese period from another? Is there a grand over-all sequence of development; and if so, what are its implications? These questions were posed on the first day in terms of figure style and of landscape space, and the findings were supplemented on the third day by an outline of the evolution of architecture. In general these three kinds of evidence supported the division of historical development into three broad phases, roughly covered by the Pre-T'ang, the T'ang-Sung, and the Ming-Ch'ing periods. However, the discussions revealed that there was no common agreement or understanding of what these three steps signified. This was to be expected; any philosophy of history must necessarily be highly speculative since each discipline contributes its own picture according to its special measuring rods, whether the "wandering tribes to universal empire" test of the political scientist or the degree of likeness to nature of the art historian. Furthermore, the ability to judge and to interpret stylistic criteria demands years of training in connoisseurship especially in the Chinese field where traditionalism meant the reworking of principles of the past to fit the new discoveries of each successive age. Consequently, as long as attribution remained in the hands of missionaries, philologists and historians, who were untrained in style, it was no wonder that Ming and Ch'ing paintings should be attributed to T'ang and even Pre-T'ang times or that later copies and forgeries should go unquestioned. The situation was further confused by the absence of agreement among the art historians themselves, who either lacked breadth of training or accepted the untenable cyclical theories of history, so popular in Germany. By postulating parallel and repetitive cycles of civilization in the various cultures, the cyclical historians have violently distorted the process of change in China. On one hand, the development has been divided into the Sinic cycle,

from the Shang period to the Ch'in empire, and the Chinese cycle, from the dissolution of the Han dynasty to the Ch'ing empire, and this repetition or superposition of cycles has been likened to that of the Hellenic and West European development; this scheme would equate Han ideational style with Hellenistic illusionism. On the other hand, each stylistic period has been divided, according to the biological analogy of youth, maturity and old age into three steps, from the early to the "Baroque"; this pattern finds "Baroque" phases in the decorative elaboration of the Warring States bronzes, in the multiplicity of motifs of the Six Dynasties, and in the "total unity" of the Southern Sung Dynasty (leaving a query concerning the complexities of Ch'ing style, which had its roots in the four Yüans). It is undeniable that every stylistic phase tends to begin with the simplest rendering of its approach to experience and then proceeds to elaborate that style to the utmost, so that an "archaic" style finds its fruition in "decorated archaic" before a new idealistic visualization emerges. However, the rhythm of a single stylistic phase and the rhythm of history through successive phases are basically different and should never be confused: one arises from an elaboration of the same approach and the other involves a sequence of new ways of looking at life. In the latter case, the mind of man, and therefore his art, seems to change into a new gear. Consequently we are not dealing with an easy semantic question but with clear thinking about the philosophy of history as a whole.

In the first session, the thesis was advanced by Dr. Soper that Chinese art history displayed an unbroken development which revealed three distinct phases. These phases were demonstrated in terms of the different ways of conceiving the functions of drapery. As evidence, the dated figure rubbings were chosen because they have been freer from faking and copying than is the case of the paintings. The drapery style of the Six Dynasties was described as essentially abstract and schematic, complementary to the body rather than dependent on it, and the design was marked by an isolation of parts and an insistent two-dimensionality. The intermediate

T'ang-Sung phase conceived of drapery as functionally delineating a plastic organic form beneath it, while subscribing to ideal conventions of clarity, regularity and harmony between the parts. The Ming-Ch'ing drapery showed an increasing preference for diversity, irregularity and complexity. On one hand it tended toward a closer approximation to the accidents of appearance, and on the other it diverged toward the non-realistic interests indicated by such terms as "decoration," "archaism" and "mannerism."

The claim that analogous characteristics existed in the development of the other arts was further confirmed by the analysis of landscape space by Mr. Rowley in the second session. According to both the written records and the authentic evidence, the Pre-T'ang era had no grasp of space. The landscape elements were abstracted according to ideational mechanics of visualization in which a tree consisted of a silhouetted trunk and branch system with a dozen leaves added. The design was in terms of lines and planes, "additive" composition, and mere "informative" devices to indicate depth, since the "idea" of space implies depth as its *sine qua non*. The T'ang-Sung era formulated, for the first time, the generic principles of space, namely true ground-planes, scale relationships and atmospheric suggestion. However, space was ideally compartmentalized into the three distances at the same time achieving a quality of incommensurability, whether in terms of the T'ang and Northern Sung multiplicity of forms or the Southern Sung obliteration of a few elements. The Ming-Ch'ing era was characterized by an expansion of interest in every direction, especially toward increasing descriptive naturalism and, paradoxically, toward decorative "mannerism." To hold the complexities of actuality together required a new kind of unity of the whole, achieved by a tendency toward a continuous ground-plane, the fusion of parts, calligraphic consonance, and frame-conscious design.

In the discussions it became evident that this comprehensive scheme of development was not understood. Most of these misunderstandings centered around the importance

of provincialism, the effect of materials on style, the kinds of technical execution, and last, and most important of all, the relation between the "Zeitgeist" of an age and foreign influences from more advanced civilizations. These questions chiefly concerned the Han bas-reliefs and the engraved tomb accessories of the sixth century A.D. The crux of the matter was how to interpret the presence of more advanced principles, such as plasticity, foreshortening, ground-planes, geometric perspective, far distance and interpenetration of elements in depth in Pre-T'ang art, which had been described as essentially ideational, two-dimensional, and additive in design. The test in such situations can be stated, namely that more advanced principles of representation must be judged not according to their apparent presence but according to their treatment and trustworthiness as reflectors of the general spirit of the age. In contrast to the pure frontal and profile views of the Hsiao figures, the three-quarter pose appeared in the Wu heads but the heads were still visualized fractionally in the picture plane. In like manner, although diagonal lines were introduced into the Wu and Chu Wei reliefs, they were used "informatively" without a true grasp of the spatial implications. Both foreshortening and even vanishing points were available to the Chinese in the eastern outposts of Hellenistic realism but the Chinese mind was not historically ready for the assimilation of these scientific principles. Motifs and tricks of representation, which may be transported across continents, will remain sterile until the kind of outlook on life, which produced them, exists to nourish them in their new intellectual environment. Ideational and realistic visualization do not flourish side by side.

After the larger historical framework of reference was established, the problems of the attribution and interpretation of single periods and single monuments were investigated. The first problem, ably presented by Mr. Sickman, was one of reconstruction, probably the most hazardous in the whole history of Chinese art. The character of Pre-T'ang court painting was re-created on the evidence of a group of engraved tomb accessories, which included stone doors, the side slabs

of stone platforms, sarcophagi, the offering chamber of Ning Hsiang, and epitaph covers with dates ranging from 522 A.D. to 529 A.D. By comparing the similarities of ornament between the epitaph covers and the other stones, the whole group was related. Then the fluid manner of the lost wall paintings was derived from the provincial tomb frescoes found in Korea and Manchuria, especially those of the Tomb of the Four Deities at T'ung Kou. The non-Buddhist iconography of the stones was analyzed in detail to show the scope of subject matter of the court style, ending with the tentative conclusion that this painting marked the culmination of the ancient Chinese style which had been evolving for over five hundred years from Han times.

This reconstruction admirably illustrated the kind of speculation required in the Chinese field where historians must struggle with insufficient material even down to the Ch'ing period. By implication it reasserted the importance of a historical framework of reference and the need for the development of sound methodologies. It was unfortunate that time did not permit a discussion of the challenged authenticity of some of the stones, none of which has been documented by archaeological discovery *in situ*. That would have brought out refinements in stylistic judgment as to whether the devices for indicating depth and the interpenetrating relationships of parts were tenable extensions of the Han misunderstandings of Western realistic principles or whether some of them had the earmarks of Ming-Ch'ing discoveries, truly a subtle distinction. Even in the much explored field of the Middle Ages of Europe, the appropriation of Hellenistic features has not been fully studied.

What can be accomplished, even in the Chinese field, by the marshalling of all kinds of evidence and by the use of every methodology, was superbly demonstrated by Dr. Rowland's analysis of the set of eight marble reliefs of the Shosoin. For many years, these have presented a seemingly insoluble problem as regards use, dating, iconography and style, since they appeared to stand apart from the normal stylistic development of Chinese sculpture. A search through

historical records plus the partial confirmation of an ink inscription on one of the slabs relating to the Hata clan raised the presumption of a date in the first half of the T'ang dynasty, although these reliefs were not mentioned in the original inventory of 756 A.D. The unique iconography of pairing the animals of the four directions and the twelve beasts of the zodiac was examined in the light of evidence ranging from the coupling of animals in the Chinese sixty-year cycle to a sun dial in Nepal, with the surmise that the reliefs decorated some architectural installation of a device for divination or timekeeping. Finally the baffling pictorial style of the reliefs was analyzed from the standpoint of dated Chinese sculpture, of imitations in stone of reticulated work in wood or metal, and of possible foreign influences whether Sassanian or "animal style" in origin.

The other single monument to be re-examined was the large Buddhist wall painting in Toronto concerning which Dr. Bachhofer presented questions of date, style, and iconography. The former attribution of 1238 A.D. was found unacceptable because Kublai did not choose the dynastic title of Yüan for the Mongols until 1271 A.D. To support a later date stylistic comparisons were made with a similar fresco in Kansas City attributed to a post 1319 A.D. date. The iconography was connected with a lost Sanskrit original which probably carried the title of the "Prophecies about Maitreya."

The topic of ritualistic bronze vessels was chosen because they furnish the most revealing evidence of the beginnings of Chinese culture and civilization and because they confront the art historian with the invention of methodologies not based on representational values. The first speaker, Dr. Salmony, reviewed the procedures of the past, namely the introduction of scientific archaeological excavation, the resort to the length and character of inscriptions as a key to date, and the use of a morphology of shapes. To these he added what might be termed the stylistic development of morphology by which the highly abstracted elements of eyes, ears, and geometric features evolved through the sequence of addition, blending, and simplification.

The second speaker, Dr. Ch'en, emphasized the importance of geographical distribution, of the study of sets of vessels, and of accurate epigraphy, which had hitherto suffered from a neglect of the style of writing and from an insufficient knowledge of the general historical background. Both scholars admitted that the solution of most of the problems depended upon further scientific excavations.

The rich fruits to be expected from archaeological field work were fascinatingly revealed by Dr. Liang in the two reports on sculptural and architectural discoveries during the years of war. A preliminary study of the county records of Szechuan showed the existence of more than a hundred "Thousand Buddha Cliffs" in that province. A field trip covering forty counties proved artistic activity in these sites from the Sui to the early Ch'ing Dynasty. Since many of the caves bore dates, it was possible to trace a continuous development in style, reaffirming the historical framework already established. The correspondence of the Five Dynasties and Early Sung caves with those at Tun-huang was noticeable but with an exciting new feature, the rendering of the paradise scenes in sculpture instead of fresco; these scenes included the most elaborate architectural backgrounds and panelled scenes in relief in the borders, which rivalled the compositions of Greek metopes in area relationships. The Northern Sung sculptures were notable for their elegance and refinement, infused with nascent archaistic tendencies. By contrast, a crude barbaric style was found in one Ming cave reminding us of the frontier contacts with barbarian peoples throughout Chinese history.

In architecture, the field trips of the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture during the last fifteen years were reviewed. Since these have covered over two thousand monuments scattered in fifteen provinces, it has been possible to trace the development of architecture back to the Han dynasty. The basic types of building included timber structures, pagodas, tombs and bridges. Just as the Greek column offered a measuring rod for the evolution of style in Greek architecture, the *tou-kung* or sets of brackets, used to make

the transition from horizontal to vertical members, furnished a reliable index for the process of change in China. The *tou-kung* evolved from simple to complex, from vigorous to elegant to ornate, and from purely structural to increasing modification in the direction of ornamentation.

The introduction and assimilation of foreign influence was seen in the *t'a* or pagodas in which the basic conception was "a tall *lou* surmounted by a pile of metal discs"; the *lou* was the indigenous Chinese multi-storeyed building of timber and the "pile of metal discs" was derived from the Indian stupa. Five kinds of masonry *t'a* were studied, including the bottle-shaped stupa, which was derived in large measure from Tibetan sources. The Hellenistic origin of the base or pedestal was noted and a query made about the relation between the arrival of Matteo Ricci in 1587 and the first appearance, in 1597, of the *wu-liang-tien*, in which columns with *tou-kung* were applied to the façade of a vaulted brick structure in Renaissance fashion. This strikingly illustrated the departure from the basic cultural concept of a building in China, namely a platform with a structural frame supporting a dominant roof with overhanging eaves and leaving freedom in the placement of curtain walls and fenestration.

The cultural traits of the Chinese, as distinguished from the development of civilization, were analyzed in the sessions on gardens and philosophy. The Chinese garden was characterized by Dr. Siren as a work of creative imagination closely related to the art of painting in its conception. It avoided the two Western extremes of the architectural layout of the formal type or the scenic freedom of the natural garden; it was rather a recreation of artistic ideas arising from an intimate relation with nature. Since the gardens in China were generally designed by the great landscape painters, similar elements and principles of composition were employed. The garden might be termed a "mountain-water picture" since these were the essential elements, together with trees and flowers, meandering paths, bridges and decorative garden architecture. Like a landscape scroll, the garden could not be viewed from a single point but was an experience in

time in which the beholder wandered through a sequence of vistas. The use of hollowed and furrowed rocks, which often seem so bizarre to Western eyes, were likened to the "play" with brush and ink in the painting. Whenever artificial intricacy threatened, it was countered by the presence of water, which conveyed the impression of vibrating and changing life. At its best the Chinese garden "lives with the infectious rhythm of a spontaneous work of art."

The original intention of the committee was to treat philosophy as a historical development to parallel the arts but later it was thought advisable to devote an evening session to the basic cultural orientations of Chinese philosophy as a bridge between the arts and the social sciences. In true Chinese fashion Dr. Fung symbolized the difference between the agricultural character of ancient China and the maritime culture of ancient Greece by a saying from Confucius: "The wise man delights in water; the good man delights in mountains. The wise move; the good stay still. The wise are happy; the good endure." The social and economic thinking of the Chinese stemmed from the "root" occupation of agriculture in contrast to the "branch" occupation of commerce, dominant in the seafaring pursuits of Greece and England. From this dependence on the land the two trends of Chinese thought, Taoism and Confucianism, were inspired. The Taoists idealized the simplicity and primitiveness of rural life while the Confucianists made the family the basis of society. Confucianism emphasized social responsibilities and Taoism, by its glorification of nature, sought what is natural and spontaneous in man. To the Confucianists art was an instrument for moral education; to the Taoists art was a means of communion with the *Tao* of the universe.

Both doctrines held that reversal is the movement of the *Tao*, undoubtedly inspired by the farmer's concern with the movements of the sun and the moon, and the ever recurrent succession of the seasons. In methodology they shared the immediate apprehension of things as the starting point of their thinking, psychologically related to the practical life of the tillers of the soil. Problems of epistemology never

seriously interested the Chinese. Even their language is suggestive rather than articulate. In contrast to the Chinese intuitive apprehension, the Greeks, being merchants, dealt with numbers rather than concrete things and eventually formulated their concepts by postulation. In summary Dr. Fung said: "When a Chinese begins to study Western philosophy, he is glad to see that the Greek philosophers also made the distinction between being and non-being, the limited and the unlimited. But he feels rather surprised that the Greek philosophers held that non-being and the unlimited are inferior to being and the limited. In Chinese philosophy the case is just the reverse. The reason for this difference is that being and the limited are the distinct, while non-being and the unlimited are the indistinct. Those philosophers who start with concepts by postulation, like the distinct; while those who start with intuition, value the indistinct."

If a word, in retrospect, may be permitted, the conference seemed to emphasize the interdependence of the various disciplines and the need for more accurate methodologies in the interpretation of history. Every moment in history is like a work of art and cannot be put into the strait jacket of cyclical system nor evaluated in terms of cultural constants. History results from the interplay between the factors of place and time, of culture and civilization. It is imperative to establish some framework of the development of civilization; it is revealing to speculate on such cultural traits as traditionalism, ideographic language, the family system and the role of the *Tao*. Although a Han painting and a Southern Sung painting both seek to express the "essence of the idea," nevertheless it would be fatal not to see that one is "informative" and "additive" in its approach and that the other involves a knowledge of organic principles and a system of relationships. It would be just as dangerous to fail to make the distinctions between the concreteness and practicality of Confucius and the philosophical speculation of the Neo-Confucianist. Every cultural trait is conditioned by time and the characteristics of every period are modified by the culture.

CHINESE SOCIETY

NO country of the world today presents greater problems of national reconstruction than does China. Eight years of warfare, enemy exploitation and blockade would, under the best of circumstances, have given rise to enormous tasks of economic rehabilitation and political stabilization. In actuality, however, these tasks are immensely complicated by the fact that the country is at the same time in the throes of a social transformation affecting the whole fabric of national life. The crumbling of China's ancient order, which set in a century ago with the coming of the West, has only been accelerated by the war. Thus postwar reconstruction is involved at every turn with the creation of a new society adequate for national survival and progress in the modern world.

The issues and problems growing out of this historic process were the subject of the other aspect of the Princeton Bicentennial Conference on Far Eastern Culture and Society. In a three-day discussion, some 50 students of Chinese history, philosophy and social institutions sought to delineate the main features of China's traditional society and the forces now making for a revolutionary change.

Social Heritage of China

Geographical Influences. In the study of Chinese society one begins inevitably with geography. Traditional China reveals a constant and yet varying interaction between the life of her people and the facts of climate, resources, and geographical location. George B. Cressey sketched certain basic features for the Conference. Ancient China was "a huge oasis," bounded by great seas and mountain barriers, except in the North where Ch'in Shih Huang-ti built the Great Wall in the attempt to complete her isolation. In modern times, by contrast, the Pacific Ocean has become a highway opening China to Western trade and ideas. This new accessibility has precipitated a far-reaching change in the social institutions and the international relations of the country.

China's soil and topography likewise condition her past

and future. Regional diversity in climate and crops, together with internal barriers to communication, have produced regional differences in culture and temperament which continue to obstruct political unity. Also, continued Professor Cressey, the limits of land in relation to population is one of the prime facts of China today. China has less than half an acre per capita in food crops. Only a small increase can be expected in the cultivated area. This alone will tend to restrict industrialization, apart from other obstacles. So severe is the pressure of population on the land that it is difficult to see how an adequate food surplus can be made available to support a large urban population, even with such improvements in farm technology as may be expected.

The primary importance of agricultural problems was affirmed by other members of the Conference. Several were inclined, however, to doubt that the limitation of land itself was necessarily an insurmountable barrier either to improvements in the well-being of the Chinese farmer or to substantial industrialization. Other countries like Japan have shown that technical improvements can bring a large increase in per capita productivity in agriculture. China, too, should be able to supply her food requirements at higher levels with a declining fraction of her labor power. Moreover, social as well as technical factors are of immense importance. Today agricultural productivity is weighed down by political disorder, oppressive taxes, rents, and interest charges, and a harsh system of military conscription. If physical factors establish certain basic limitations, their actual human significance at any time depends greatly on the capacity of a society to modify the influence of environment on well being.

This theme was developed by the second speaker, Owen Lattimore, against the backdrop of Chinese history. The differentiation of types of societies in Eastern Asia from early times was conditioned by environment. Moving north and west from the Yellow River cradle of Chinese culture one finds a gradual transition from the "intensive agricultural economy and land fast society of China" to the "extensive herding economy and mobile society of the steppe nomads."

Towards the south, however, Chinese society spread by colonization and conquest through the rich regions of the Yangtze and trans-Yangtze. Here the growth of China proceeded mainly by assimilation of kindred peoples. This process of acculturation extended to the point where the land begins to rise towards the highlands of Tibet, where again as in the north a geographical-social differentiation becomes observable.

Illustrating further this geographical influence, Professor Lattimore drew on the studies of K. A. Wittfogel and Chi Ch'ao-ting. Chinese society, the former suggests, originated in the Great Bend of the Yellow River because there the soil and climate make possible a prosperous agriculture with only primitive tools and small-scale irrigation. Later it was extended south to the even richer soils of the Yangtze. This occurred, however, only as techniques of extensive drainage, irrigation and water transport were perfected, and as social controls were developed to mobilize masses of labor for large-scale public works. In ensuing centuries China became in reality a cluster of economic areas. Each was built around a river or canal system and produced a surplus of grain for the support of the army and the bureaucracy. Through periods of political stability they were held together under the imperial bureaucracy. As dynasties decayed, they tended to fall apart and become independent states or autonomous regions.

Some one of these regions in any period can be identified in Chi's terminology as the "key economic area," i.e., the area producing the largest grain surplus. This major unit tended to correspond to the shifting center of population density. It moved in later centuries to the rich river valleys of central and east China. The key strategic area, however, continued for geographic reasons to be in the north and west. The irrigated south remained militarily vulnerable, and was repeatedly subjected to conquest and exploitation by dynasties originating in the north.

Today social change may have radically altered the value of the geographical factor, concluded Professor Lattimore.

Some of the main sources of hydroelectric power and mineral resources lie far to the west and north of the river valleys and plains which have long constituted the key economic areas. Industrialization may bring a radical shift in the traditional center of gravity. Also, as in the shift from tribal to feudal society, and from feudal to imperial state, it promises again to alter the size of the social and administrative unit in response to the expanding economic and geographic unit.

Political and Social Philosophy

Chinese philosophy likewise reflects this interaction between man and his environment. J. J. L. Duyvendak sketched for the Conference the metaphysical foundations upon which the Confucianists rested their principles of good government. Man is a partner of Heaven and Earth, and should adapt himself harmoniously to the natural order. Natural harmony in turn was carried over into human society. Here people should fulfill the rights and duties appropriate to their natural status, whether superior or inferior. Thus they preserve the human harmony of right relationships.

Opposed to this feudal ideal of "government by virtue" (i.e., of the nobleman) there developed the more realistic *fa-chia*, or School of Law. Through its emphasis on personal merit, and on the necessity of a rigid system of law enforced by severe rewards and punishments, it provided a framework for the strong and stable system of post-feudal government devised under the Ch'in and Han emperors. Paradoxically, however, Confucianism was not discarded. Instead, law now came to be embedded in Confucian ethics, which still supplied the norm of conduct.

Various reasons were suggested by Conference members for this triumph of Confucian idealism over the pragmatic teachings of the Legalists. The legal system was too inflexible to apply administratively over a large empire. It also lacked any underlying social philosophy, and its harsh and oppressive application under the Ch'in made a reaction inevitable. Moreover, the feudalism of the Chou period and its philosophy were of a modified character. This facilitated the sub-



SHANG TRIPOD: Museum of Historic Art. Princeton



MING BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HSI-HSIANG CHI



MORRIS COLLECTION: Landscape signed Kung-nien. Sung dynasty



長安寶慶寺僧正覺立石

京兆傳
鳳鳴秦

RUBBING: Kuan-yin dated 1451 A.D.

sequent adaptation of Confucianism to post-feudal requirements. In the new blend of philosophies, as summed up by Professor Duyvendak, the man entitled to rule the state is no longer the nobleman. He now becomes the noble man, the sage who has the virtue to govern "in accordance with those principles that assure harmony in the natural world."

The interaction of philosophy and other aspects of Chinese society was further elaborated by Fung Yu-lan. As detailed in an earlier section of this report, he drew a contrast between certain features of Chinese and Greek thinking, relating them in turn to the continental, agricultural base of Chinese civilization as opposed to the maritime, trading character of ancient Greece.

In a similar vein, Dirk Bodde appealed to the Conference for more critical study of Chinese philosophy in terms of the economic, social and political realities of its surrounding culture. This might seem to be rendered fairly easy by two factors: both philosophers and official bureaucrats in China were commonly drawn from the same class of literati; and Chinese philosophy is believed to have been very practical in character. In actuality, however, there is difficulty in both these presumptions. A number of leading thinkers never mixed in public affairs, but studied in seclusion. Moreover, after the famous early period, from the sixth to the second centuries B.C., the later development of philosophical thought tended often to be highly metaphysical. The laws of good government and personal conduct were formulated in such abstruse terms as to have little application to actualities.

What is required, said Professor Bodde, is the collaboration of philosophers with physical and social scientists in studying the actual influences of historical circumstance on the evolution of philosophy, and the impact of philosophy on the world of affairs. One fruitful approach among others is the biographical. Much can be learned from inquiry into the social background of the individual and his career in public office. How were philosophical principles applied in personal conduct? Similarly, the non-philosophical writings of Chinese thinkers—letters, historical treatises, memorials,

etc.—will sometimes reveal political and personal judgments and their relationship to the philosophical principles professed by the author.

Economic and Political Features. From the realm of ideas the Conference turned again to the economic and political institutions of traditional China. Karl A. Wittfogel, in this connection, questioned the recent tendency to designate Chinese society as “feudal.” More accurately, he suggested, it was a type of Oriental society with an institutional structure reflecting the need for a certain type of agrarian division of labor. As noted by Professor Lattimore, it required the construction of large-scale hydraulic installations for production, defense and transport. This necessitated the employment of peasants intermittently on mass operations under government direction, even though farming itself was mainly fragmented among individual owners. Through the government *corvée* the key economic functions of this type of society were performed. The ruling class derived its power and wealth primarily from the control of these undertakings, rather than from military functions or from private property. This power was reinforced and perpetuated by various devices, including emphasis on ability to use a highly complicated script—“a solid bulwark of educational advantage and social privilege.”

As property-based income developed along with government and peasant income, Dr. Wittfogel observed, the ruling class became differentiated into two sub-groups: the active bureaucracy and the non-officiating landed gentry. Between them was an easy mobility and a close identity of interests. Below them developed a secondary ruling class composed of wealthy merchants, who might also be landowners. Private trade and industrial enterprise, however, were held in check by the preference for landed property, and by the absence of legal security requisite for their rise to a dominant position. Landlordism was likewise retarded traditionally by inheritance laws which tended to fragment individual holdings. Nevertheless, the rise of tenancy and its abuses tended periodi-

cally to undermine the state economically and politically. This led to dynastic crises and upheavals.

Conference discussion brought general agreement that traditional China had roughly a two-class society: the government and the masses. The political influence of the proletariat was small except in moments of crisis. In this respect present-day China reveals a widening break with the past, for the peasantry (primarily in Communist areas) are at last being given a chance to play a role in government. The increased power of the soldier and the business man also serves further to undermine the traditional position of the scholar-gentry class.

The basic features of Chinese society continue, however, to assert themselves in the process of transition. As examples Dr. Wittfogel cited the continued role of the long-gowned scholar and the power of officialdom to stifle private business and take control of key economic enterprises. Other traditional characteristics observable today were analyzed by C. Martin Wilbur. One is the drive towards overpopulation, which is traditionally associated with the need for manpower in an intensive agriculture. Inability to maintain a balance between resources and numbers has brought periodic crises in Chinese history. It has also meant a continual and intense struggle for existence. In this struggle, responsibility for the family group has taken precedence over all wider, public responsibilities.

Despite its low economic potential, Chinese society was long deterred from fundamental change by what Dr. Wilbur described as a "cultural ideal of stability and repetition." The state was idealized as the guarantor of security and stability rather than as an energizing force for social change. The peasantry often struggled against the state but to the end of dynastic overthrow rather than social revolution. The gentry and nobility naturally favored the *status quo*. The business class accommodated and protected itself within the prevailing system. The scholars were conservative by training and allied with the gentry. While the examination system set a premium on brains and education, it fostered orthodoxy

and "discouraged the emergence of men with imaginative and exploratory minds."

Today, Dr. Wilbur noted, the need for industrialization is recognized, the exclusively classical education has been abolished, and ideas of progress and change are in the air. Social transformation is likely to be only gradual, but may be markedly affected by two contemporary events. One is the opening up of West China to new influences as a result of the war. The other is the Communist movement in agrarian regions. In seeking to measure the rate of change, we need to know more about the depth and permanence of social innovations resulting from these movements.

Social Transition in Modern China

Demographic Factors. One basic aspect of China's social transition is the response of population to new influences. Yet the first fact confronted by the demographer in China is the lack of reliable data. Pending a full-scale national census, Dr. Ta Chen proposed at Princeton a sample inquiry to supply certain elementary information on a national scale. In some detail he outlined the project, setting forth the principles which would need to be applied to make the sample representative with respect to geography, ethnic origin, occupation, type of community, etc. His proposed investigation would cover about 4 per cent of the population. It would require a staff of some 25,000 enumerators and supervisors, most of whom could be recruited locally at small expense. It would provide invaluable data itself for research and government planning, and would pave the way for a national census of direct enumeration.

Warren S. Thompson supported Dr. Chen's plea for more adequate population data. In his view, China faces the possibility of a gigantic increase in numbers during the next few decades if anticipated social and economic changes take place. This is the more serious as her population is already vast and relatively dense and she has little new land for settlement. Experience in the West, and in other Far Eastern countries, indicates that economic improvements are likely

to bring a marked decline in death rates long before they exert a perceptible influence on the birth rate. Such a development in China may so increase the population as to prevent any social gains from increased economic productivity. The only way this can be avoided, Professor Thompson argued, is by educating the masses of Chinese people in the meaning of high birth rates and low death rates in their local community.

Some difference of opinion developed in the Conference as to the likelihood of a population "explosion" in China. It was argued, for example, that similar predictions in the case of Japan had failed of fulfillment. In the prevailing view, however, the prospective rate of natural increase in China does constitute a grave threat to any program of social betterment. Unfortunately, present efforts to deal deliberately with the problem are handicapped by a lack of scientific knowledge concerning the psychological factors which affect the birth rate, especially in rural societies. Sociologists believe, however, that field study and experimentation might develop a number of educational techniques which could be applied to discourage high fertility. No problem is more urgent if efforts to raise the standard of living are not to be defeated by the sheer increase in numbers.

Communication and Acculturation. The trend of population growth, the prospects for industry, and other aspects of social transition in modern China are all associated with China's response to the introduction of Western ideas. The tides of Western influence set in a century ago, and, as observed by Dr. Wilbur, the recent war has carried them much more deeply into the hinterland of China. As yet, however, social scientists have devoted little scientific inquiry to the means by which the communication of social and political ideas has taken place, or the processes of acculturation set in motion. David N. Rowe urged upon the Conference a more careful inquiry into the facts of cultural contact and accommodation, employing the scientific concepts and techniques of measurement which have now won a place in this branch of social psychology.

Specifically, Professor Rowe suggested an intensive study of all phases of this process in some particular area of China, as, for example, in the Shanghai-Nanking-Hangchow triangle. This should describe in detail the manner in which foreign influences—economic, political and social—have seeped in to modify traditional modes of life, habits of thought and social outlook. It would involve first the collection, then the analysis, of masses of data relating to transport, communications, education and the press, the widening of markets and occupational changes, and other adaptations to modern influences.

Professor Rowe was questioned as to whether an inquiry of this character could be undertaken by foreign scholars. He suggested that many aspects could best be handled by Chinese specialists, but that Western social scientists could contribute needed scientific techniques. To the objection that the survey would be concerned with the impact of ideas, and that ideas cannot be measured in statistical terms, he replied that there were obvious difficulties in this realm. Experience in other fields, however, had shown that they were not insuperable if a high degree of cooperation among philologists, philosophers and social scientists was ensured.

China's Potentialities as a Modern State

Economic Development. In assessing China's future, the Conference turned again to the problems of economic development. John E. Orchard first gave an estimate of China's over-all potentialities. Her agricultural output is already enormous, he pointed out. At present, however, it is obtained by primitive techniques relying primarily on human labor. Better agricultural techniques, coupled with improvements in transport, can achieve a material rise in production even with no increase in the cultivated area and a possible decline in the fraction of the population engaged in farming. In industry, likewise, China has physical resources and a labor supply adequate at least for as much industrialization as Japan or even Russia had achieved before World War II.

The immediate and overriding obstacle to economic progress, Professor Orchard observed, is political disorder and

civil war. Other major problems in any program of industrialization are the shortage of capital goods and the low level of technical skills. Obviously China's industrialization will require large importations of machinery and skills from abroad. In paying for such imports, however, she faces two difficulties: (1) the mobilization of adequate savings for investment, and (2) the creation of exports adequate to provide the necessary foreign exchange. The former is handicapped by the pressure of population on resources; the latter by the lack of any great export staples and by late entry into industrial competition for world markets.

The benefits of industrialization in China will depend on whether the impulse is towards the development of military industry under governmental auspices, or the encouragement of a freer and more diversified pattern of development aimed at raising the national income. Michael Lindsay gave it as his view that only the latter course offers any prospect of relieving population pressure. Only in this way, for that matter, is China likely to increase her productive capacity in the long run to the point where she becomes a first-class military power. Economic progress, he agreed, calls for the interdependent development of both agriculture and industry, and parallel improvements in transport. Unless the productivity of agriculture is increased, the peasant will have little food over and above his own requirements to support the industrial worker and buy the products of his industry. Moreover, there are limits to the number of workers who can be transferred out of agriculture without curtailing food production, except as agriculture is modernized through the introduction of improved techniques and investment of capital.

This all-round character of economic development sets up huge and competing requirements for capital. Yet the amount of possible investment in a country like China is much more limited than is suggested in the more grandiose paper plans put forward. What is required, suggested the speaker, is a realistic and therefore modest plan of national development, coupled with reforms which will attract capital

away from land purchase, usury and speculation. Also important is a good priority system for investment. Under free enterprise this is best determined in the main by the rate of return, except for investments in roads, irrigation and other enterprises which do not yield a direct monetary return. In the latter field, as in rural industries, the possibilities for large scale investment at low social cost are increased by the existence of a vast amount of agricultural labor which is unemployed or underemployed much of the time. The employment of this labor in useful public works represents a net social gain which can be substantial, provided intelligent planning and organization are carried down to the local village level.

Further Conference discussion of the prospects for industrialization in China emphasized again that the chief obstacles today lie in the contemporary political and social setting. Not only does the civil war drain away productive resources, but the incompetence and mismanagement of the government in Kuomintang China dissipates even the resources that are available. Nor is this simply the result of immediate political and military strains. It reflects a basic conflict between the requirements of modern economic development, on the one hand, and the spirit and capacities of the traditional bureaucracy on the other. So long as this is true, speakers argued, it is idle to think in terms of large scale planning and management of the economy, for the requisite skills, the integrity and enterprise are lacking at the top.

These difficulties do not reflect a lack of native capacity, it was pointed out. The Chinese mind can be as apt in science and technology as that of the Westerner. Nor is it impossible, as shown by the Communists in North China, to get co-ordinated action on a large scale between widely separated groups who agree on the rules and are willing to abide by them. What is required is a thoroughgoing social and political reorganization, linked with agrarian reform. Only sweeping changes in this realm will bring into leadership individuals and groups who genuinely desire to revitalize China's

economy and whose interests are identified with such changes. In considerable degree, therefore, questions of economics become at bottom questions of politics.

China's Political Future. The political future of China was painted for the Conference by John K. Fairbank in somber colors. He began by assuming that the United States would exert great power in the Far East in the future and that American fear of communism would lead it to support reactionary regimes in countries like China. The attempt to suppress popular movements identified with Communist leadership, however, will only strengthen them. "Thus, after setting out to fight communism in Asia, the American people will be obliged in the end to fight the peoples of Asia, in the effort to make them develop liberal political and economic institutions which are outside their tradition and beyond their means."

In this setting Professor Fairbank saw three major factors affecting the future in China:

(1) Increased food supply and other improvements will offer the possibility of higher standards of living. Given a reactionary government and ruling class, however, the fruits of technology will not be employed for social welfare and higher living standards. American support of anti-communist regimes will therefore only contribute to the further spread of poverty and misery among the masses.

(2) The authoritarian state system is likely to grow in China, resting as it does on the Chinese tradition of centralization and political monopoly. Modern Kuomintang China reflects the historical two-class system, in which government is the responsibility of officials, not the people. The intellectuals have never allied themselves with the peasant masses to resist the domination of the bureaucracy, but have been absorbed into the official class to perpetuate its monopoly. Among the Communists, it is true, one finds a concern for mass welfare, a skillful use of the tactics of mass organization, and recruitment of a new class of officials from the peasantry. But even if they avoid party dictatorship on the Soviet model it will be difficult for the Communists to re-

frain from highly centralized control, owing to the magnitude and urgency of their problems. American resistance to the revolutionary movement will itself make for greater ruthlessness and repression. "The attempt to suppress social change by the sword ensures that social change will come only by the sword."

(3) With the spread of literacy, China's classical tradition of cultural superiority over other peoples may be reborn as a sort of modern super-patriotism. Modern instruments of popular enlightenment are a potent force in developing a new mass culture. An authoritarian government will not hesitate to exploit such techniques for its own ends. In this new awakening, the Communists have the advantage, as they display a concern for popular welfare which attracts mass support. So long as this is true, Professor Fairbank concluded, our support of anti-communist elements is likely only to confirm the Communists as patriots and defenders of the people.

Wang Kan-yu likewise voiced a deep pessimism concerning the outlook for democracy in China. The prime obstacle he found to be a century-old tradition of absolute monarchy. Under this system a monopoly of political power is maintained by force, and can be broken only by force. Today the Kuomintang has re-created such a monopoly, only reclothing it in modern garb in order that self-seeking rulers can better exploit their position. The present Nanking regime, Professor Wang concluded, is so "autocratic, militaristic, and reactionary," and the tradition of rule by majority so undeveloped, that only an upheaval of cataclysmic proportions can produce a real change.

What, then, are the constructive forces at work in Chinese politics? Professor Fairbank saw hope principally in the political awakening of the masses. Professor Wang argued that China's salvation lay in the regeneration of the literati to play their historic role in Chinese politics. Among the modern intellectuals, he believed, is a blend of China's own culture and the democratic ideals of the West which endows them with "a spiritual vitality and moral claim to leadership."

Other Conference members pointed to the modern business class, or the middle class generally, as the element which might bridge the chasm between Right and Left and supply both the political ideals and technology necessary to reconstruct China.

China's hopes for the future, as they appeared to most members of the Princeton Conference, lie somewhere along the middle road. Today military power is in the hands of the extremists—the revolutionary and the reactionary—who are attempting to settle the issue by force of arms. The result is political chaos on a huge scale, and a steady undermining of the foundations of economic life. Social structure in China, however, is in fact much less rigid, much more fluid, than this tragic situation would suggest. Moreover, moderation, a capacity for social cooperation, and a resilience in the face of hardship are virtues for which the Chinese people have long been distinguished. In the middle ground is a range of possibilities in some form of regionalism and federalism, some compromise of capitalism, communism, and traditional agrarian institutions, which might form the basis for a viable system of political and economic organization.

The interests of the United States under these circumstances are evident. At all costs it should avoid giving support, directly or indirectly, to the extremists of either party. Instead, it was argued at Princeton, America should support by all possible means those moderates of all classes and parties who can agree to compose their differences by peaceful democratic means, and unite in the orderly rebuilding of China. They will be found on both the Right and Left, and within all groups: the Army, the bureaucracy, the business, worker, and peasant classes, and the literati. The only intervention which can produce a lasting settlement is that which will throw the full weight of America's moral, political and economic support behind a fusion of these constructive elements. Under such leadership, the release of energies which is bound to accompany the political awakening of China's 400 millions can become a powerful force for security and progress in the Far East.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

MONDAY, MARCH 31

Preview of Princeton Bicentennial Exhibitions of Chinese Art,
Museum of Historic Art and Antioch Court, 8:00-10:00 p.m.

FIRST DAY. TUESDAY, APRIL 1

CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY (411 McCormick Hall)

Historical Development: Figure Style

Chairman: Langdon Warner

Speakers: Alexander C. Soper

Laurence K. Sickman

Gallery visit to Exhibition of Rubbings in Antioch Court

CHINESE SOCIETY (Princeton Inn)

China's Social Heritage: Geographical Influences

Chairman: Kenneth S. Latourette

Speakers: Owen Lattimore

George B. Cressey

CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY (411 McCormick Hall)

Historical Development: Landscape Style

Chairman: Archibald G. Wenley

Speaker: George Rowley

Gallery visit to Exhibition of the Morris Collection in the
Museum

CHINESE SOCIETY (Princeton Inn)

China's Social Heritage: Political and Social Philosophy

Chairman: Ernest R. Hughes

Speakers: J. J. L. Duyvendak

Derk Bodde

Joint Session, Open to the Public (411 McCormick Hall)

The Background of Chinese Philosophy

Chairman: Arthur W. Hummel

Speaker: Fung Yu-lan

SECOND DAY. WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2

CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY (411 McCormick Hall)

Special Problems: Bronze Vessels

Chairman: Chauncey J. Hamlin

Speakers: Alfred Salmony: *Historical Development*

Ch'en Meng-chia: *Geographical Distribution*

Gallery visit to Exhibition of Bronzes in the Museum

CHINESE SOCIETY (Princeton Inn)

China's Social Heritage: Economic and Political Elements

Chairman: Charles S. Gardner

Speakers: Karl A. Wittfogel

C. Martin Wilbur

Radio Broadcast: The National Broadcasting Company, 1:15-1:30 p.m.

What Should Our Policy be in China?

Participants: Owen Lattimore

Michael Lindsay

George E. Taylor

CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY (411 McCormick Hall)

Special Problems: Garden Design and Iconography

Chairman: Laurance P. Roberts

Speakers: Osvald Siren: *Chinese Gardens*

Ludwig F. Bachhofer: *The Paradise of Maitreya*

Gallery visit to Exhibition of Illustrated Books in the Museum

CHINESE SOCIETY (Princeton Inn)

Social Transition in Modern China: Demographic Elements

Chairman: William L. Holland

Speakers: Ta Chen

Warren S. Thompson

Joint Session, Open to the Public (411 McCormick Hall)

Communication and Acculturation in Modern China

Chairman: Harold D. Lasswell

Speaker: David N. Rowe

Radio Broadcast: WAAT, Newark, 8:45-9:00 p.m.

The Outlook in China

Speaker: William L. Holland

THIRD DAY. THURSDAY, APRIL 3

CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY (411 McCormick Hall)

Recent Discoveries and Future Investigations

Chairman: H. H. F. Jayne

Speakers: Benjamin Rowland: *The Stone Reliefs in Shosoin*

Liang Ssü-ch'êng: *T'ang and Sung Sculpture*

Gallery visit to Exhibition of Liang Photographs in Antioch Court

CHINESE SOCIETY (Princeton Inn)

China's Potentialities as a Modern State: Industrialization

Chairman: William W. Lockwood

Speakers: John E. Orchard

Michael Lindsay

CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY (411 McCormick Hall)

Recent Discoveries and Future Investigations

Chairman: Alan Priest

Speaker: Liang Ssü-ch'êng: *Architectural Discoveries*

CHINESE SOCIETY (Princeton Inn)

China's Potentialities as a Modern State: Political

Chairman: Arthur N. Young

Speakers: John K. Fairbank

Wang Kan-yu

Conference Dinner, Procter Hall, Graduate College, 8:00 p.m.

Presiding: President Harold W. Dodds

Speaker: George E. Taylor: *The Future of Chinese Studies in America*

Radio Broadcast: People's Platform, WCBS and Columbia Broadcasting System, Sunday, April 6, 1:00-1:30 p.m.

Can China Achieve a Working Democracy?

Participants: John K. Fairbank

Harold D. Lasswell

David N. Rowe

MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE

- ACKER, WILLIAM R. B., Associate in Far Eastern Art, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution
- BACHHOFFER, LUDWIG F., Department of Art, University of Chicago
- BIGGERSTAFF, KNIGHT, Department of Chinese Studies, Cornell University
- BODDE, DERK, Department of Oriental Studies, University of Pennsylvania
- CHEN HAN-SENG, The Johns Hopkins University
- CH'EN MENG-CHIA, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
- CHEN SHOU-CHIANG, Chinese History Project, Columbia University
- CHEN TA, Department of Sociology and Institute of Census Research, Tsing Hua University
- CHU TUNG-TSU, Chinese History Project, Columbia University
- CREEL, HERRLEE G., Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, University of Chicago
- CRESSEY, GEORGE B., Department of Geography, Syracuse University
- DUYVENDAK, J. J. L., University of Leyden
- EVANS, ROGER, Social Science Division, Rockefeller Foundation
- FAHS, CHARLES B., Humanities Division, Rockefeller Foundation
- FAIRBANK, JOHN K., Department of History, Harvard University
- FUNG YU-LAN, Dean of Humanities, Tsing Hua University
- GARDNER, CHARLES S., Cambridge, Massachusetts
- GOODRICH, L. CARRINGTON, Department of Chinese and Japanese, Columbia University
- GRAVES, MORTIMER, Executive Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies
- HAMLIN, CHAUNCEY J., President, Chinese Art Society of America, Inc.
- HOLLAND, WILLIAM L., Secretary General, Institute of Pacific Relations
- HUGHES, ERNEST R., Oxford University
- HUMMEL, ARTHUR W., Chief, Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress
- JAYNE, HORACE H. F., Vice-Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- LASSWELL, HAROLD D., Law School, Yale University
- LATOURETTE, KENNETH S., Department of History, Yale University
- LATTIMORE, OWEN, Director, Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University

LIANG SSŪ-CH'ÊNG, Director, Institute of Architectural Research,
Tsing Hua University

LINDSAY, MICHAEL, Department of Economics, Harvard University

MORRIS, DU BOIS SCHANCK, New York City

ORCHARD, JOHN E., Acting Dean, School of Business, Columbia University

PLUMER, JAMES M., Department of Fine Arts, University of Michigan

POPE, JOHN A., Assistant Director, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

PRIEST, ALAN, Curator of Far Eastern Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ROBERTS, LAURANCE P., New York City

ROWE, DAVID N., Department of Political Science, Yale University

ROWLAND, BENJAMIN, Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University

SALMONY, ALFRED, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

SICKMAN, LAURENCE K., William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art

SIREN, OSVALD, National Museum, Stockholm

SOPER, ALEXANDER C., Department of Art, Bryn Mawr College

TAYLOR, GEORGE E., Director, Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington

THOMPSON, WARREN S., Director, Scripps Foundation, Miami, University

WANG KAN-YU, Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington

WARNER, LANGDON, Fogg Museum, Harvard University

WENLEY, ARCHIBALD G., Director, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

WILBUR, C. MARTIN, Division of Research for Far East, Department of State

WITTFOGEL, KARL A., Director, Chinese History Project, Columbia University

YOUNG, ARTHUR N., Former Financial Adviser, National Government of China

Together with a number of additional scholars and graduate students, members of the Princeton faculty were also invited to attend the conference.

CONFERENCE STAFF

Director: George Rowley
Associate Director: David N. Rowe

CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Hospitality	Ernest T. DeWald
Aides	Ransom R. Patrick
Press	James D. Breckenridge
Radio	George B. Tatum
Recorders	David R. Coffin

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William W. Lockwood
Reuben H. Gross, Jr.
A. D. Barnett
William W. Marvel
Sandy M. Pringle
Richard F. Bortz
Anthony H. C. Hill

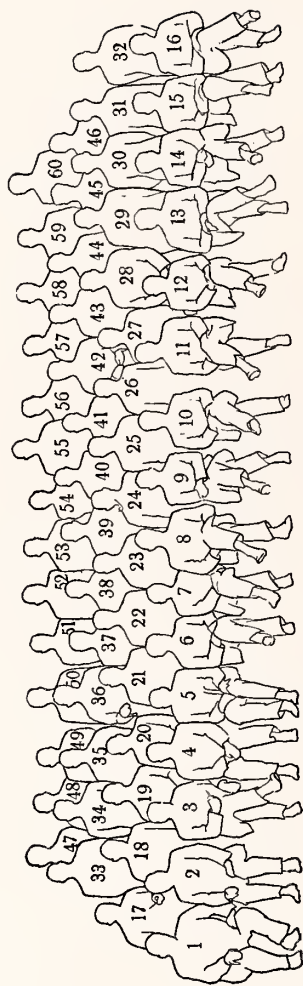
EXHIBITIONS

Installations

M. Lester Cooke, Jr.
Frances F. Jones
P. Joseph Kelleher
William F. Shellman, Jr.

Catalogues

Yiu Tung
Wang Ch'i-ch'en
Wang Chung-min
Wu Kwang-tsing



FAR EASTERN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Chauncey J. Hamlin | 21. H. H. F. Jayne | 41. Chen Shou-chiang |
| 2. A. G. Wenley | 22. L. C. Goodrich | 42. Mortimer Graves |
| 3. Langdon Warner | 23. Arthur N. Young | 43. Wilma Fairbank |
| 4. Arthur W. Hummel | 24. Owen Lattimore | 44. Charles S. Gardner |
| 5. Du Bois S. Morris | 25. Milton J. Clark | 45. Ch'en Meng-chia |
| 6. Oswald Siren | 26. Chen Han-seng | 46. William W. Marvel |
| 7. Liang Su-ch'eng | 27. Tung-tsu Chu | 47. A. H. C. Hill |
| 8. George Rowley | 28. Harold D. Lasswell | 48. P. J. Kelleher |
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| 11. George E. Taylor | 31. Reuben H. Gross, Jr. | 51. Derk Bodde |
| 12. Chen Ta | 32. Sandy Pringle | 52. Roger F. Evans |
| 13. J. J. L. Duyvendak | 33. John A. Pope | 53. George B. Cressey |
| 14. E. R. Hughes | 34. Laurence Sickman | 54. H. G. Creel |
| 15. W. L. Holland | 35. Ransom R. Patrick | 55. Knight Bigsstaff |
| 16. K. S. Latourette | 36. Alfred Salmony | 56. Chih Meng |
| 17. L. Bachhofer | 37. K. T. Wu | 57. Alan Priest |
| 18. J. D. Breckenridge | 38. John E. Orchard | 58. H. Lester Cooke, Jr. |
| 19. B. Rowland | 39. Wang Kan-yu | 59. A. Doak Barnett |
| 20. J. M. Plumer | 40. C. Martin Wilbur | 60. Karl A. Wittfogel |

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